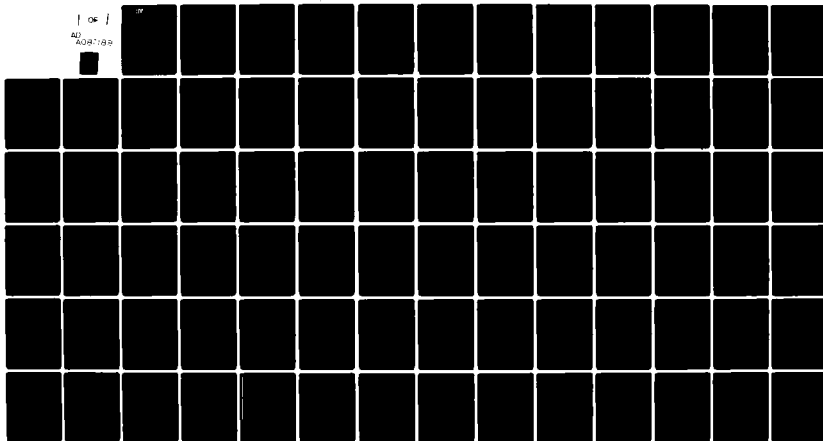


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Appropriate to Leadership Training and Education  
at the US Coast Guard Academy

by

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## PREFACE

This Interim Report was prepared as part of the project titled, "Study to Evaluate and Recommend Changes to Curricula at the USCG Academy" - RFP CG 22, 532A, HumRRO Proposal # P72-50, DOT Contract CG 22532 A, 24 April 1972.

It was prepared specifically to meet the requirements as set forth in the First Amendment of the referenced contract--Recommendations Concerning Methods and Media Appropriate to Leadership Training and Education at the USCG Academy--5 April 1972. These requirements, as listed in referenced Amendment, are:

1. Conduct research to provide a basis for the evaluation.
2. Examine current objectives and practices in leadership training and education at the USCG Academy.
3. Recommend methods and media appropriate for leadership training and education at the Academy.

This Interim Report has been prepared for review purposes only.

This Interim Report has been prepared for review by the U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters and the U.S. Coast Guard Academy.

The contents do not necessarily reflect the official opinion or policy of the Human Resources Research Organization nor that of the U.S. Coast Guard.

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RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING METHODS AND MEDIA  
APPROPRIATE TO LEADERSHIP TRAINING AND EDUCATION  
AT THE US COAST GUARD ACADEMY



## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present report is to present an analysis of junior officer leadership training needs of the Coast Guard, and the extent to which the leadership training at the Coast Guard Academy satisfies them. To the extent that these leadership training needs can better be met, a further purpose is to recommend suitable improvements in leadership training methods and media.

This analysis is part of a larger study of the curriculum of the Coast Guard Academy, and the extent to which the Academy experience prepares graduates for their post-commissioning jobs, or for postgraduate study, as the case may be. The main body of the study is both empirical and judgmental. That is, to determine active duty performance requirements, empirical job analysis data were collected from active duty officer personnel. These data served as the basis for identification both of clusters of similar jobs, and of requirements of those jobs. The judgmental portion of the main study will consist of comparing performance requirements with the Academy curriculum. This comparison will serve either to validate the curriculum as it stands, or to identify areas of potential improvement.

By contrast, the present analysis is almost totally judgmental. This is so for two reasons. First, a very substantial amount of leadership research has already been done by members of the research staff. It is assumed that leadership is a person-to-person skill which is roughly similar from

one general setting to another. Though this assumption has on occasion been challenged, it will nonetheless be assumed to hold true for purposes of the present study.

The second reason for the judgmental nature of this part of the study is that leadership training methods are by no means straightforward. To consider a contrasting example, the training prescribed for someone who needs a higher level of skill in celestial navigation is relatively easy to determine. His problem might consist of a knowledge deficiency, or a skill deficiency (e.g., use of sextant). Through the use of a relatively simple diagnostic test, it would be possible to determine the nature of the deficiency and decide on reasonably efficient remedial training. Then, it would be possible to determine if that training satisfied the need by having the officer perform the task. Leadership skills, on the other hand, are of a much more abstract nature and resist simple diagnosis of the sort just described. It was felt at the outset of the study that it would be necessary to place dependence on the established literature concerning leadership training methods and techniques, as opposed to the more straightforward job task analysis procedures used in the main part of the study.

The research staff therefore placed reliance on previous research findings in the leadership area, in conjunction with an analysis of existing leadership training procedures at the Coast Guard Academy, and a very limited analysis of leadership tasks required of the newly commissioned Coast Guard Officer. This latter analysis was undertaken to verify the assumption that leadership requirements are generally consistent from one organizational

setting to another, and that the knowledge gained in previous leadership studies holds true for the Coast Guard also. (Leadership items were also included in the Job Task Inventory developed for the main study, for the purpose of further checking of this assumption.)

#### FINDINGS FROM PREVIOUS RESEARCH

One of the most relevant general programs of research was conducted by Lange and Jacobs (Lange, Rittenhouse, and Atkinson, 1956; Lange, Campbell, Katter, and Shanley, 1958; Lange and Jacobs, 1960; Jacobs, 1962 and 1963). This program of research in leadership continued over a substantial number of years, focusing on the leadership performance requirements of the junior officer leader in the Army. During the research, crucial leader behaviors were identified and demonstrated to hold true from one situation to another. Also, a substantial effort was spent on development and validation of leadership training for junior officers.

This research is assumed to be of direct relevance to the present study. First, the training problems are similar. The requirement is to train a virtually inexperienced individual to assume commissioned officer leadership roles following a period of precommissioning training in which he is to a major extent isolated from the operational problems of the post-commissioning environment. The leadership training problems are further similar because in both cases the junior officer is young, dealing with subordinates who are likely to be both older and more experienced. Further, in both cases subordinates are generally more product oriented, while the junior officer

is more concept oriented. Finally, in both cases the senior subordinates with whom the junior officer deals are relatively well established in their career lines and have determined the structure of their jobs substantially well, while the junior officer himself is only beginning this exploratory and structuring effort.

The previous research, and a substantial amount of the leadership literature as well, suggests that the new role is perplexing and difficult for the newly commissioned officer. He is "the man in the middle" (Jacobs, 1966). As this discussion suggests, a number of insights about the leadership problems of the junior officer follow from analysis of sometimes conflicting expectations to which he must generally conform. (This amounts to a role analysis approach, which will be elaborated in greater detail later in this discussion.) In essence, his seniors expect certain performances of him. Some of these performances are technical, and some are administrative/managerial/leadership in nature. Generally, his seniors expect him to learn to be an officer, and to assume, over time, greater responsibility for getting the job done. His subordinates share many of these expectations. That is, they expect the junior officer to be "green," and to be learning how to be an officer. They expect him also to emphasize mission accomplishment. However, at the same time, they expect consideration of their dignity as individuals, and avoidance of behavior that would compromise the self-esteem satisfactions they receive from their own performance of duty. These expectations sometimes are in conflict. One of the most difficult tasks of leadership is to resolve the conflict when it occurs.

More recently, Jacobs (1970) conducted an extensive review of leadership research both to provide a statement of the current state of the art, and to develop a perhaps more coherent framework within which leadership could be viewed. Somewhat more than 1,000 reports of research were collected, spanning the period of approximately the past 25 years. This review, to some extent, clarified the nature of leadership, and suggests approaches to training for more effective leadership.

#### LEADERSHIP DEFINED

The concept of leadership resulting from this review draws heavily on three major developments:

(1) Homans (1958) conceptualized communication and interaction within groups as a social exchange process. Blau (1964) developed social exchange theory concepts into a highly useful framework for considering both interaction among persons, and the development of power relationships in both informal groups and formal organizations. In social exchange theory terms, leadership consists of a transaction between leaders and subordinates, whereby each profits from the relationship in some significant way.

(2) Hollander and Julian (1969) provided an integration of social exchange theory with leadership concepts. They emphasized the transactional nature of the leadership relationship between senior and subordinate, particularly emphasizing that the leader is accepted and valued by subordinates to the extent that he makes unique and valuable contributions to the attainment of group goals (Hollander, 1956). The more valuable the leader's

contribution to the attainment of group goals, the more the group values his leadership and is subject to influence by him.

(3) A number of researchers have developed concepts pertaining to roles and capacity of persons in organizational positions to conform to role expectations others have for them. While the research in this area is too extensive to cite, one significant conclusion is that it is not sufficient merely to study leadership behaviors of position incumbents. Expectations for the position incumbent (from both seniors and subordinates) may extend beyond the normal boundaries set for "leadership." When they do, deviation from these expectations may lead to judgments about the position incumbent's leadership ability. Thus, in order to study "leadership," it may be necessary to consider requirements of the position that go beyond the influence process of leadership itself. Specific examples are the manner in which the position incumbent uses the power of the position, and for what purposes, and the manner in which he defines the scope of his authority.

In the review of the literature, three concepts were found to be used interchangeably and confusingly. These concepts were power, authority, and leadership. It appeared counterproductive to persist in the overlapping uses of these words. Consequently, a logical approach was developed to separate them from one another. The essence of this approach was the question of the reaction of the subordinate to the influence attempt. This seemed a highly logical criterion, based on the conventional definitions of leadership which imply favorable reactions of subordinates, willing compliance to leader's desires, and cooperation and effort beyond the minimum as the result of leadership.

Power, authority, and leadership therefore were defined as follows:

(1) Power. This primarily is the capacity to deprive someone else of satisfactions or benefits, or to inflict "costs" on him if he does not comply with an influence attempt. (This also then would clearly include the capacity to provide rewards for compliance.) A very substantial body of research suggests that universal reaction to the use of power as the basis for an influence attempt is resistance. (This is so because it demonstrates that the holder of power has higher status than the individual on whom power is exercised. Therefore, the use of power deprives the influence target of self-esteem and pride. This is always a cost, and is always resented.) The use of power in formal organizations increases supervisory requirements, decreases esprit, and causes subordinates to attempt to escape the consequences of noncompliance.

(2) Authority. In contrast to power, authority is a function of relationships between positions in an organization, and is ultimately derived from the mission or task objectives of the organization as a whole. Where goals can be identified, their attainment can generally be more easily accomplished when a hierarchical relationship exists among some of the members. That is, where specialization occurs in the roles people play, with some persons organizing, directing, setting goals, and so on, goal attainment is more efficient. Organizational authority is derived from this basic fact. Authority therefore exists to facilitate the accomplishment of goals. The position incumbent in a formal organization usually has authority to the extent that he has responsibility for organizational goal attainment. Authority relationships require effective two-way communication between

leader and subordinate, to insure that subordinates and leaders share frames of reference, and understand their mutual responsibilities. (Most influence attempts between seniors and subordinates in formal organizations fall into this category. That is, it is the job of the more senior individual to tell the more junior one what to do.)

(3) Leadership. This is persuasive interaction between persons such that one becomes convinced that what the other suggests is a superior course of action, or that he will gain worthwhile approval from the other for taking that action. In this sense, leadership is persuasive in nature, involves specialized interaction skills which others have defined as interpersonal competence, and demands effective two-way communication between leader and follower. Because it is a persuasive approach to influencing others, it is time consuming. Consequently, position incumbents in formal organizations engage in actual leadership (as defined herein) a relatively small portion of the time. However, that small percentage of the time is responsible for most of the differences between really outstanding units, and those which must struggle to maintain the minimum standard.

#### IMPLICATIONS

This analysis suggests two things. First, it is essential for leaders to understand the distinction between position power, authority, and leadership, and to use these influence bases appropriately in order to achieve optimum goal attainment (together with subordinate satisfactions). Second, it suggests the importance to the junior officer of possession of and practice in using the actual interaction skills that constitute leadership as defined.



As was suggested earlier, leadership is a transaction between leader and follower, such that each profits from the relationship. The diagram below shows a simplified view of that exchange.

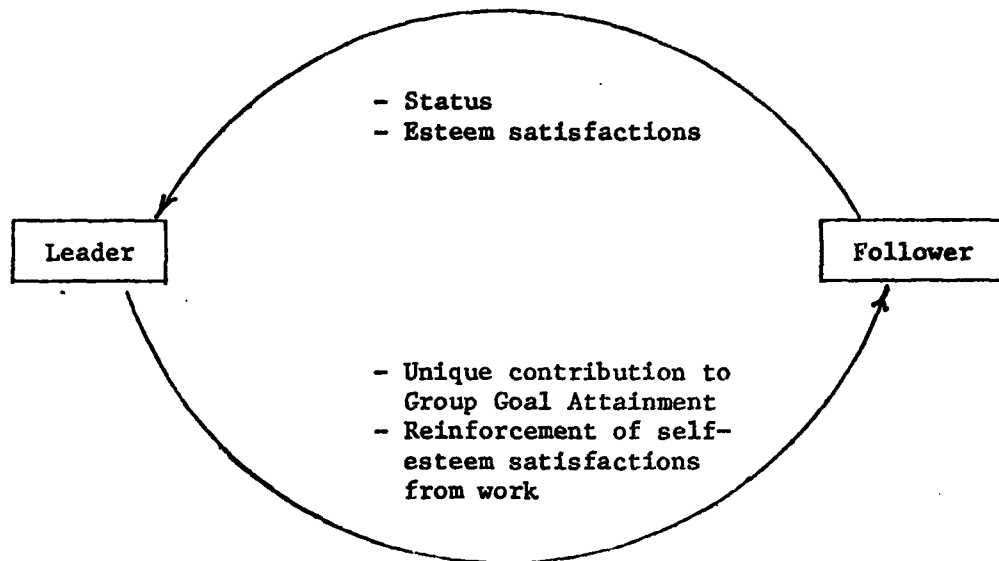


FIGURE 1

#### Transaction Between Leader and Follower

Clearly, the situation is more complex than Figure 1 shows. However, key elements in the exchange are shown. It is probable that the primary motivation for leaders is the relative status and self-esteem satisfactions they derive from being in a position of leadership. However, this is a deprivation for followers. It is worthwhile only if the leader makes unique contributions to group goal attainment. It further is probable that the leader also will be maximally successful only if he reinforces self-esteem satisfactions of followers as a consequence of their performance in the attainment of group goals.

Jacobs (1970) concluded that there probably are four dimensions of leadership behavior. These were identified by Bowers and Seashore (1966) in a review of a number of factor analytic studies, and probably are representative of general findings. They are:

(1) Support. This is leader behavior that enhances the subordinate's feeling of personal worth and importance. As suggested by Figure 1, this is reinforcement of the subordinate's self-esteem needs, and probably should be contingent on his performance in helping to achieve group goals.

(2) Interaction Facilitation. This is behavior that encourages or permits the development of close and mutually satisfying relationships within the group. This type of social satisfaction has been found important in work groups in a multitude of studies covering a time span of nearly 40 years.

(3) Goal Emphasis. This is leader behavior that emphasizes the need for excellent performance in achieving group goals. This has also been included in research findings over a long period of time.

(4) Work Facilitation. This consists of helping to achieve goal attainment by such activities as scheduling, coordinating, planning, etc. Technical knowledge of the job also falls within this area.

Analysis of these four general dimensions of leader behavior raises several questions for the graduate of the Coast Guard Academy as he transitions from the Academy to his initial duty assignment. Clearly, he has problems. First, there really is not very much that he can give in exchange to his subordinates. He can do little in the way of uniquely facilitating group goal attainment. Emphasizing the need for excellent performance in

achieving group goals is likely to have negative consequences as often as positive, lacking the ability to facilitate goal attainment. Finally, he is generally powerless, at least at the beginning, to satisfy self-esteem needs of subordinates. (A basic rule is that self-esteem needs can be satisfied for subordinates only by a respected leader.) These observations serve to underscore the fact that the junior officer's initial duty assignment will pose difficult problems, for which he needs serious preparation.

#### ANALYSIS OF THE JUNIOR OFFICER ROLE

As was suggested earlier, understanding of the leadership performance requirements of the junior officer is facilitated by a role theory approach. This contrasts with earlier approaches to understanding leadership, which were considerably more concerned with the personality of the leader and principles that should govern his behavior.

Examination of the leader's role in the organization is conceptually much easier. In particular, it emphasizes the need to shift attention away from personality variables toward the function of the leader in the organization. A functional orientation toward leadership was emphasized by both Jacobs (1963) and Adair (1968), among others. The term "functional" simply says that the leader serves a functional purpose in a formal organization, specifically that of facilitating the attainment of organizational goals. Thus, it can be seen that "functional approach" is synonymous with transactional theory as it has previously been discussed. The emphasis is on what the leader does to further organizational goal attainment. The earlier emphasis on personality probably arose because

there is, admittedly, importance attached to the appropriateness with which the leader performs his function. The importance of that aspect of leadership will not be denied in the present discussion. However, it should be placed in proper perspective.

For the purposes of the present report, therefore, leadership performances will be dealt with in terms of role theory. A role consists of the rights and privileges, duties and obligations of any occupant of a position, in relation to persons occupying other positions (Sarbin and Allen, 1968). That is, within a formal organization, position holders have certain duties and obligations. These duties and obligations are established by expectations which other position holders have for him. For example, the responsibilities of an ensign are not determined by his rank, but rather by the expectations held for his position by both his superiors and his subordinates. In order to be fully effective in his position, the ensign must do what his seniors expect him to do, and to a substantial extent also what his immediate subordinates expect. (This latter is so because their expectations are reasonably realistic, and reflect leader actions generally required for mission accomplishment.)

There are two aspects of a role which must be considered. First are the specific behaviors expected of the individual in his position. These behaviors must be the proper behaviors, and they must be effective in accomplishing their purpose. The general purpose, of course, is facilitating organizational goal attainment.

The second aspect of role is the appropriateness of performance. This refers specifically to the manner in which performance occurs. Role behavior may not be effective if it is performed inappropriately.

The importance of these aspects of role can well be illustrated by the inexperienced ensign's three questions when dealing with subordinates who are considerably older and more experienced than he:

- . What am I supposed to do?
- . How do I go about doing it?
- . How do I talk to a Chief?

#### ROLE BEHAVIORS

The first step in the identification of proper role behaviors was the development of a list of role performance areas. Identification of these areas was based on previous work described earlier, which was done in non-Coast Guard settings, as well as on leadership research performed within the Coast Guard (Rivard, undated)<sup>1</sup>.

The findings from these combined sources led to identification of 24 role performance areas. For each area, a number of typical leader behaviors were developed, to serve as examples of what the area represented. As an example, one category was planning. One item under planning was, "plan how to handle future workloads or requirements."

These behavior areas and items were then used as an interview guide with a very small number of selected active duty Coast Guard personnel. This served as a validity check, and to determine the extent to which

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<sup>1</sup>Statistical methodology does not exist for determining the degree of similarity between behavior areas identified in two different studies. However, a purely judgmental examination of the findings of leadership research conducted within the Coast Guard and that conducted by the present author in other settings suggests an extremely high degree of comparability. Based on examination of these different sets of findings, it seems reasonable to conclude that leadership requirements within the Coast Guard are quite similar to those required in most other formal organizations. There are, of course, some differences, which will be discussed later.

Ensigns in particular are held accountable for these more general leadership role behaviors. The following section will contain a description of the role behavior areas, and conclusions regarding Ensigns' responsibilities based on the interviews with Coast Guard personnel.

#### Findings from Study of Role Behavior Areas

During interviews with active duty Coast Guard personnel, the 24 areas of role performance were used as a structured interview guide to assess the importance of the areas of role performance, the extent to which responsibility is shared in each of these areas, and whether junior officers need improvement in them. (For an expanded discussion of these 24 areas, see Tab A.) It should be emphasized that these findings are based on a very small number of interviews. However, the extent of their agreement with earlier leadership findings suggests that they probably are reliable.

Table 1 shows the listing of role performance areas, the research staff assessment of importance of the area (based on interview results), and whether the junior officer shares responsibility. Study of this table suggests that there is substantial variation in importance, at least insofar as the junior officer is concerned. This variation occurs largely because of the fact that these functions are in many cases shared. The greater the overlap between the role of the junior officer and the Chief is, the lower the relative importance is for the junior officer. (Overall, however, there was agreement among persons interviewed that all these areas of role performance are important. What the Table shows is that some areas are relatively more important than others.)

TABLE 1

## Role Behavior Areas

Behavior Area	Importance of Area	Shared?
Planning	High	No
Organizing	Intermediate	Yes
Coordinating	Intermediate	Yes
Initiating	*High	Some
Directing	**Low	Yes
Controlling	**Low	Yes
Interpersonal Competence	High	***N/A
Problem Solving	High	Yes
Personal Example	High	***N/A
Self Control	High	***N/A
Fair Evaluations	High	Yes
Role Differentiation	High	***N/A
Involving Subordinates	High	No
Loyalty to Subordinates	High	No
Expecting High Performance	?	?
Goal Orientation	High	Yes
Developing Teamwork	High	Yes
Developing Subordinates' Pride	High	****No
Training and Developing Subordinates	Intermediate	Yes
Performance Feedback	Intermediate	Yes
Helping Subordinates with Personal Problems	?	Yes
Assessing Subordinates	**Low	Yes
Hygiene Factors	?	Yes

\*Not so high during immediate post-commissioning period.

\*\*Because Chief has main responsibility here.

\*\*\*Not applicable. May be a requirement at many levels. Therefore is not a "shared" responsibility. Rather, it is more a universal responsibility.

\*\*\*\*However, subordinate leaders should also use this leadership tool.

The substantial amount of sharing of responsibility shown in Table 1 probably occurs for two reasons. First, the Chief usually is a highly competent professional. In a wide variety of organizations, it has been found that greater decision latitude and responsibility usually accompany higher professionalism. The sharing of role area responsibility shown in Table 1 probably reflects the professionalism of the Chief.

The second reason for sharing of role area responsibility is the "new-comer" status of the junior officer. In particular, he is lacking in technical competence and knowledge of how the complex technology aboard ship works. The relative lack of technical competence at the junior officer level would logically create a demand for greater responsibility in the immediate subordinate.

In Table 2, the high importance areas were selected out for individual examination. Finally, in Table 3 are shown the high importance areas where there is less sharing of responsibility. For these areas, Table 3 also shows the research staff's assessment of the need for improvement among junior officers, based on the interview results.

These findings show a need for improvement in three major areas:

- . Role performances of planning and initiating. These are managerial in nature. They involve looking ahead, sorting out problems and priorities, and seeing that they are dealt with. These functions probably cannot be accomplished without a substantial degree of technical competence, more than the junior officer has when he



TABLE 2

High Importance Role Behavior Areas

High Importance Area	Shared?
Planning	No
Initiating	No
Interpersonal Competence	N/A
Problem Solving	Yes
Personal Example	N/A
Self Control	N/A
Fair Evaluations	Yes
Role Differentiation	N/A
Involving Subordinates	No
Loyalty to Subordinates	No
Goal Orientation	Yes
Developing Teamwork	Yes
Developing Subordinates' Pride	No

TABLE 3

High Importance Areas with  
Concentrated Responsibility

Behavior Area	Need For Improvement
Planning	Yes
Initiating	Yes
Interpersonal Competence	Yes
Personal Example	No
Self Control	No
Role Differentiation	Yes
Involving Subordinates	Yes
Loyalty to Subordinates	No
Developing Subordinates' Pride	Yes

assumes the responsibilities of his initial duty assignment. This is not to say that the junior officer should be fully technically competent upon commissioning. Rather, the more technically competent he is upon commissioning, the sooner he will be able to assume the full responsibilities of his position.

- . Role differentiation is knowing own responsibilities in relation to those of subordinates. It probably requires an understanding of the Chief's (and other subordinates') roles, as well as their values, attitudes, and so on.
- . Interpersonal Competence, Involving Subordinates, and Developing Subordinates' Pride. These are areas focusing on the junior officer's skills in interacting successfully with subordinates (and others) to accomplish leadership and organizational objectives.

#### General Conclusions

General reactions to this list of role behavior areas implied that all of the subareas were important. There was little disagreement with the content of the list, though there was strong feeling that all junior officers need to be better trained in all of these areas. With the very limited number of interviews that were conducted, it seems risky to use the interview results as a basis for firm conclusions. However, at the risk of going beyond the data, the following general conclusions might be reached:

(1) The role behavior areas listed in Table 1 are appropriate as a way of conceptualizing the leadership role of the officer. The junior officer should be trained in the appropriate execution of the skills involved in these areas.

(2) The Chief has a strong feeling of possessiveness about the responsibilities of his own role. He expects to share many of the role areas, particularly those which involve detailed planning of the work to be done, and supervision of the men doing the work. In general, the Chief expects the officer to plan, identify general goals and requirements, tell him what to do, and then stand back while he does it. This suggests, and other results confirm, that one of the most important improvements in leadership training for the junior officer would be to give him a better understanding of the Chief's expectations, values, and perception of his own role, together with interaction skills for dealing with and learning from the Chief more efficiently and effectively.

(3) If specific areas can be singled out as being more important than others from this list, they would be areas which involve interacting with other persons, particularly Chiefs. The general conclusion would call for greater effectiveness in communication skills and consultative leadership skills.

(4) There is a substantial role conflict problem for the newly commissioned Ensign. He is the recipient of substantial pressure from his own seniors to learn his job and to perform effectively. This is particularly so for engineering student officers. At the same time, the Chief may or

may not perform for the Ensign. Chiefs appear to be dedicated individuals who have substantial pride in the quality of their work and in the performance of their departments. However, if the Ensign does not interact with them with sufficient respect for their own dignity as individuals and long experience, the Ensign may encounter problems in enlisting the Chiefs' support. This role conflict situation has a "game" aspect. As an illustration, it is considered inappropriate for the Ensign to go to the Chief and give orders from his own seniors with a preface that his seniors want thus and such done. However, the Chief, in most cases, knows well enough when something has originated from the Ensign's seniors and when he originated it himself. Further, there is a good likelihood that the Ensign's seniors and the Chief may have substantial direct interaction anyway, which leaves the Ensign with a role which he is powerless to perform. The point of this discussion is not to criticize the situation as it is, but rather to suggest the need for training which would prepare the Ensign to recognize the requirements of this learning situation when he encounters it, and to give him techniques for adapting successfully to it.

#### ANALYSIS OF CURRENT ACADEMY LEADERSHIP PREPARATION

Leadership preparation at the Coast Guard Academy consists of two interfacing parts, summer programs and academic year programs.<sup>1</sup> In addition, at the Academy there is a professional studies group which is charged with imparting technical knowledges and skills to cadets. While this adds to their

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<sup>1</sup>Information about current Academy leadership preparation was obtained from discussions with the Commandant of Cadets and several of his staff, together with analysis of a Memorandum from the Commandant of Cadets covering Leadership Development Objectives (2/4/73) and courses/programs for achieving objectives.

technical competence and therefore to their ability to establish valid authority relationships with their subordinates after commissioning, detailed attention will not be given this area beyond noting its extreme importance.

As presently conceived by the Commandant of Cadets, the student's transition from entry into the Cadet Corps until graduation consists of a series of important transitions. The leadership training program is designed to facilitate those transitions. During the first year, and particularly the first summer, the new cadet is in the process of transitioning from civilian into military status. This transition requires that he learn the customs of his service, learn to wear the uniform, and learn the ground rules of the Academy. This transition, together with training in the traditions and requirements of the Academy, is managed mainly by Second Classmen. During the first year (as a Fourth Classman) a primary objective is to develop group identity among the cadets who have relatively little leadership responsibility at that time.

During the third class year, preparation begins for the transition from follower to leader. There are leadership classes on Saturday mornings, which consists of conceptual material followed by group discussions. This transition continues during the second class year, during which the cadet begins to have formal leadership responsibilities, in part from chain-of-command responsibilities and in part from the summer program which involves training of Fourth Classmen. Finally, during the first class year the transition from cadet status to officer status occurs, with responsibility

for running the Cadet Brigade through a formally established student chain of command. During the first class year, the cadet learns how to do good staff work through working with commissioned officers as they perform collateral staff duties, and how to do counseling, by acting as counselors with lower classmen. He also learns how to deal effectively with senior officers.

The summer programs are designed in part to support these transitions. The fourth and second class summers are scheduled around short cruises, with the training of Fourth Classmen occupying the rest of the summer, both for them and for the Second Classmen who are responsible for conducting that training. Third class and first class summers are built around long cruises, the purpose of which is to acquaint the cadet with shipboard life.

Leadership training also is scheduled during the academic year, as was noted, primarily on Saturday mornings. This may consist of a variety of classes and procedures. Further, there are academic courses which should support the development of leadership skills, by helping to produce an understanding of human behavior and organizations. These courses consist of three management courses and two psychology courses--Introduction to Management, Organizational Behavior, Managerial Environment, Human Behavior and Applied Psychology. (A complete listing of programs, as obtained from the above referenced Memorandum is attached at Tab B.)

#### OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAM

Evaluation of the Leadership Training Program at the Academy is both difficult and probably, at least to some extent, improper. The difficulty in its evaluation lies in the lack of a criterion. To some extent, an effort

was made to determine the reactions of active duty personnel to leadership training they had received at the Academy. These reactions were sought both in interviews preceding the development of the Job Task Inventory which served the major purposes of this study, and in the interviews conducted for the specific purposes of the present leadership analysis.

When queried about their leadership training at the Academy, officer personnel generally did not recall having received any. They did recall Saturday morning sessions, but had not strongly associated them with training specifically for leadership. A further problem cited for the Saturday morning instructional periods was that substantial numbers of cadets were able to be excused from this instruction, which left the remaining cadets feeling that they were not equitably treated, and certainly created problems insofar as standardization of training is concerned.

It is probably not proper to comment beyond these two points. The present Commandant of Cadets is in the process of making highly significant positive changes, both in the philosophy of leadership training and in the procedures used. Three of these changes are particularly noteworthy. The first is the development of leadership training objectives. While leadership skill is somewhat more difficult to assess than almost any other skill, the best in modern instructional technology suggests that instruction based on training objectives is likely to be more effective than instruction which is not. (Training objectives, in turn, are based on performance requirements of the job.) Thus, the step of identifying leadership training objectives and examining the available programs and courses which seek to



achieve those objectives is a major step forward, the significance of which cannot be overstated. It is likely that if this philosophy of instruction is pursued, leadership training will eventually become considerably more effective at the Academy.

A second major innovation, tied to the first, is an effort to conceptualize the overall development of the cadet from the beginning of his fourth class summer until his commissioning. This conceptualization is also a major step forward, because its inevitable outcome will be a systematic framework against which to measure the cadet's progress at various points in his development. The more formal set of developmental criteria, with intermediate steps, should eventually result in a significantly better set of benchmarks which will have value for performance counseling during the cadet's early development as well as at later times.

Finally, a major innovation in training technique consists of the Motivational Seminar. This, insofar as overall significance is concerned, is not the type of major systematic step as the previous two. Its significance stems from the fact that it is a departure from conventional methods, and a highly effective one at that. One Ensign, when questioned about his leadership training, commented on the Motivational Seminar. He was impressed by the objectivity and realism of the approach, and felt that it was "worth all the other programs put together." While an objective assessment of the other programs probably would not confirm this evaluation, it nonetheless speaks well for the value of the Motivational Seminar itself.

(It would be desirable that other such techniques be used, particularly to provide skill training in the areas of deficiency identified during interviews, as noted previously. Recommendations for some possibilities will be discussed at a later point in this report.)

The summer programs did not receive particularly favorable comment in any of the more than 100 interviews that have been conducted during the course of this entire project. It is not clear why this is so. One possibility is that the officers interviewed were evaluating their summer experiences in view of an after-the-fact expectation that the summer programs should have done more to help in preparing them for their active duty responsibilities. This possibility is suggested by comments in the interviews that the conditions of the summer cruises are not the same as those pertaining to active duty aboard ship after commissioning, and that they present a picture of the Guard which is inaccurate. The two week visit to Pensacola, on the other hand, was regarded quite favorably.

#### PROBLEMS OF TRANSITIONING FROM CADET STATUS TO ACTIVE DUTY STATUS

Some reference has already been made to difficulties probably experienced by junior officers in their initial duty assignments, as they are transitioning from their last year of cadet status through their first year of commissioned experience. To some extent, these problems can be expected as a normal outgrowth of first experience on the job. However, leadership training should take problems of transition into account, in order to prepare the cadet/officer more thoroughly for his initial duty assignments. This section will discuss some of the differences in context, and other

factors, between Academy life and active duty life that makes the transition difficult.

#### THE DOMINANT TECHNOLOGY

Much recent work in organizational leadership has focused on differences in leadership style required in situations that differ markedly in technology. "Technology" refers to the process by which organizational members at the worker level produce the products or services that justify the organization's existence. Shipboard technology is high machine/technical oriented. One characteristic of a machine/technical environment is that the operations required to make the machines work are usually highly precise. Further, feedback usually is available immediately as to whether the operation was correct.

Said in somewhat simpler terms, in a machine-dominated environment, a person either knows what he is doing or he does not, and it may be apparent to a wide variety of onlookers which of these is the case. Further, when the technology becomes complex or highly sophisticated, the dimension of professionalism at the worker level becomes more and more important. The more professional the subordinate is, the more consultative the leadership style must be. It is highly significant that most of the interviews resulted in the observation that consultative leadership is extremely important in the Coast Guard.

In contrast, the leadership technology at the Coast Guard Academy is person dominant. That is, the Corps of Cadets consists of persons, and leadership in the chain of command consists of getting persons to do things.

In a person dominant technology, there may be (and usually is) relatively less professionalism at subordinate levels, and leadership can be more directive.

On the surface, this observation would suggest that leadership skills learned in the cadet chain of command may possibly not generalize as well to leadership in the Coast Guard itself as perhaps should be the case. This suggests the possible need for additional training, to help in the transition from cadet to officer.

#### STATUS REVERSALS FOLLOWING COMMISSIONING

At the Academy during his first class year, the cadet has achieved a position of relatively high status. The receipt of his commission is the capstone of this high status year and in all likelihood leaves him elated, enthusiastic, and eager for active duty. However, one of the first persons with whom he must deal aboard ship is a Chief with high expert power, especially in comparison with the Ensign. (One Chief during interviews commented that he thought junior officers were a little afraid of the Chiefs, and that there was an unwritten law among Chiefs to keep it that way.)

This is a matter of relative status. Realistically, Chiefs have worked for years to achieve their relatively high status within the non-commissioned ranks. As will be noted later, they feel quite possessive about their departments, and feel that it is their responsibility to keep them running. They also feel that they have the skills required to do this. Finally, they feel the need to preserve the respect they feel their subordinates should have for them.

The difficulty for the Ensign stems from the fact that he does not have that type of earned status as yet although he may not realize that. Lacking technical knowledge of the job--how to make the machine go--he is not in a position to facilitate goal attainment by his subordinates. Indeed, at the outset, he is hardly in a position to identify the tasks they should be performing. Admittedly, it is recognized by all concerned that the Ensign is in a learning capacity, and that it is the responsibility of the Chief, in part, to help him learn. (This was verbalized both by Chiefs and Lieutenants.) However, the conditions of learning are very complex. Actions by Ensigns which would tend to compromise the status of the Chief are strongly resented. Further, too much acceptance of the Ensign as a superior would in itself cause a relative loss in the Chief's status. This is probably a painful experience which is resisted to the extent deemed proper within the situation for that particular Ensign. (There was substantial agreement among all Chiefs interviewed that they did not want Ensigns present, looking over their shoulders, while work was being done, unless it was very clear that the Ensign's motive was to learn. It is significant that the status of a learner is generally regarded to be somewhat lower than that of a supervisor. Thus, Ensigns were accepted as long as they were willing to play a lower status role, but resented when they tried the higher status role.)

Further, there is evidence of a coalition between Chiefs and the Ensign's own seniors. That such a coalition should exist is reasonable. The Ensign's seniors are responsible for making the ship operate. The Chiefs are the ones who have the skills to accomplish the tasks required to execute this

responsibility. Interview results suggested that Chiefs generally expect to have access to the Ensign's own seniors when there are communication problems. That the Ensign's seniors would allow this is probably also reasonable. If the Chief does not pull for the team effort, it is probable that necessary work will not be done to the standards needed. Allowing direct contact, when circumspectly done, would be one possibly necessary vehicle for maintaining the Chief's commitment to the team effort.

Thus, this kind of coalition is not necessarily unreasonable. Within the overall frame of objective reality, it may be necessary for effective performance aboard ship. However, it must without question make the Ensign's transition to commissioned status difficult. The point of the argument is not that the system should be changed, but rather that leadership training should realistically introduce the Ensign to that system.

#### SITUATIONAL PRESSURES ON THE JUNIOR OFFICER

In addition to the personal situation threat posed by the "man in the middle" factors just described, the junior officer is subjected to additional pressures in his initial duty assignment. If he is an engineering student officer, the combination of his technical responsibilities and the collateral duties he usually will be assigned may be staggering. While most Academy graduates probably survive this pressure-laden situation without visible harm, it seems likely that there may be hidden costs. Senior officers perceive this period as one of test, and of learning to assign priorities. The Ensign is more likely to see it as of questionable purpose. To the extent this latter perception occurs, it could

be expected to decrease the attractiveness of the Coast Guard as a career, and perhaps cause attrition of desirable officers.

This is not to say that the initial duty situation should be changed, but rather that preparatory training could be initiated prior to departure from the Academy that would orient the cadet (officer-to-be) in a realistic way toward the probable demands that will be made on him in his initial duty assignment. The objective of this transition training would be to show the purpose behind the procedure, and what he is expected to learn from the experience. By giving meaning to the procedure, not only will the junior officer's reaction to it be improved, but also its objectives should better be served.

#### VALUES AND COMMUNICATION EFFECTIVENESS

Interviews with active duty personnel identified communication between ranks, especially between newly commissioned junior officers and senior noncommissioned personnel, as an area of crucial importance and need for improvement. Difficulty in communication is made worse, in all probability, by different values held by junior officers and senior noncommissioned personnel. The Chiefs, for example, hold a professional ethic. That is, their approach to their jobs is that of a skilled professional. While some Chiefs undoubtedly are deficient in motivation or ability, or both, the same could be said for professionals in any field. In the main, the limited interviews that were conducted seemed to show the Chiefs to be concerned for their own reputations as competent supervisors and doers, and to be quite sensitive to their reputations with other Chiefs. They also are deeply

concerned about the effectiveness of their departments. Further, as has already been noted, they are possessive about their responsibilities. That is, they exhibit a phenomenon known as territoriality. They regard their departments as "theirs," and resent intrusion. This territoriality is enhanced by the fact that they normally will have longer tenure on a ship than will their seniors among officer personnel. Symptoms of the territoriality are their negativism about close supervision, and their desire to have officer personnel not present when work is being accomplished.

The newly commissioned officer, by contrast, has a theoretical/academic ethic. It is not judged that this is undesirable, because such an ethic probably is required for satisfactory progression in the officer ranks. The problem is that it simply differs from the values of senior noncommissioned subordinates, and will make communication with them difficult. Said more simply, the junior officer may not understand the motives of the Chiefs, nor the things that are important to the Chief. The problem is similar to that which occurs in cross-cultural or cross-ethnic communication. The junior officer unwittingly may offend. (Equally so, he may be offended.)

Again, this is not to say that the active duty situation should be changed, or that effort should be made to modify the value systems of Chiefs; rather, transitional training should be developed to aid the junior officer in understanding his subordinates prior to first contact and to smooth the transition.



## OTHER COMMUNICATION BARRIERS

In addition to differences in values, there are other barriers to effective communication. One is age. The junior officer is expected to communicate effectively with a man ten to fifteen years his senior. As one grows older, he becomes more conservative and less inclined to impetuous action. This is only one example of age-related changes that occur, and constitute differences in perception and understanding between junior officers and their subordinate senior noncommissioned personnel. Another factor that systematically differentiates is the individual's origin (social class and education). Chiefs are practical men, concrete thinkers. Junior officers tend much more often to be abstract thinkers. Differences in thinking styles will create communication barriers.

Again, the implication is for transition training that will give the junior officer an insight into the cognitive styles of his immediate subordinates, and practice in communicating across such barriers.

## SUPERVISORY TECHNIQUES

Problems in this area have already been discussed to some extent. However, it is probably worthwhile to elaborate at greater length on specific supervisory problems the junior officer probably has. (These would have major implications for leadership training, since supervision is one of the major areas in which leaders can be either effective or ineffective, depending on the techniques they bring to the situation.)

First, the junior officer is probably unclear at the outset about his role relative to that of the Chief. His senior rank leads him to expect

that he has supervisory responsibility over the Chief. At the same time, he recognizes his relative lack of technical knowledge and capability of exercising supervision, and indeed is told that he is not expected to exercise supervision. Nonetheless, it is inevitable that there must be a role conflict. That is, he perceives the requirements of his rank and the requirements of his job situation to be telling him to do incompatible things. Further, there will be a time when supervision of senior enlisted subordinates is expected. The criteria for when that time has arrived may also be unclear, except insofar as it may be made more visible by transfer from one ship to another at the end of the first year as a student engineer.

Supervision of senior noncommissioned personnel in itself is very difficult. To be supervised by someone technically less competent is in itself a status inversion. This topic probably occurred spontaneously in conversation with Chiefs more often than any other single topic. This threat to the status of the Chief requires that supervision be exercised with a great deal of tact, and that the junior officer know what techniques of supervision are acceptable to Chiefs. (Some minor examples: An inspection should not be obvious to the Chief's own subordinates; it probably is better to assign tasks privately; the Chief should be allowed to organize and supervise the accomplishment of the work without interference; the Chief should be accountable for results, though the fact that he is should not be made too obvious to the Chief's own subordinates; the more consultation there is between the junior officer and the Chief, the better the job probably will go; and so on.)

Problems of supervision are inevitable when junior officers in any service are commissioned into their respective services. The situations themselves cannot be avoided. The suggestion here is for transition training that would enable the junior officer to bridge the gap more smoothly and more efficiently.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations outlined in this section will consider both possible changes in the orientation of the summer programs over the cadet's four years at the Academy, and changes that might be undertaken during the academic year. It should be noted at the outset that change should not be undertaken lightly. HumRRO has had a great deal of experience with formalized training/development/educational systems, such as the Coast Guard Academy. A typical finding, which appears to be true in the present case, is that the existing program has turned out to be a very good program indeed. While improvement seems always possible, it should be taken in perspective as change in a system that is already good. Tradition is not to be broken with lightly, and major change may be both difficult to assimilate, and detrimental in the long run.

With this as a perspective, recommendations for change will encompass the following general points:

(1) A major problem is the transition of the Academy graduate to his initial duty assignment. The immediate solution is more transferable training experiences that would include:

- . A transitional introduction to the "Real Guard."
- . Shaping of appropriate role behaviors, together with appropriate feedback, prior to commissioning.
- . The opportunity for practice of role behaviors in realistic enactment situations more like those to be encountered in the "Real Guard."

(2) A second broad area of need is training that will increase the Ensign's technical know-how, especially vis-a-vis the OCS graduate's. This seems necessary in order to give the Academy graduate a somewhat more substantial expert power base than he presently has.

(3) An additional need is for interpersonal competence training for the cadet, to facilitate his communication and interactions with senior non-commissioned officers--and others--following commissioning. This would include:

- . Understanding of mutual motivations and value systems.
- . Understanding of cognitive frames of reference of high status subordinates.
- . Understanding of status and esteem considerations, the problems of status inversion, and how to deal with them.
- . Tactics of interaction with high status subordinates.

#### RECOMMENDED SUMMER PROGRAM CHANGES

The major criticisms of existing summer programs were that they did not constitute realistic training experiences that would prepare the junior officer for his initial duty assignment. Of course, it is not known whether

this is the major objective of the summer program. It definitely is not the only purpose. The Coast Guard Academy is accomplishing substantial man-building and character-building purposes throughout the four year curriculum, to include the summer program. However, it is possible that these latter purposes might be served within a context that also represents realistic preparation for an initial duty assignment. This assumption underlies the recommendation for change in the existing summer program.

In brief outline, the following approach could be used:

(1) Fourth Class Summer.

This could be spent entirely on land, without the short cruise in the Eagle. It would be devoted, as at present, to the customs of the service, learning of the regulations, and development of the skills the Coast Guard cadet must have in order to undertake his fourth class year profitably. As at present, it would be taught by Second Classmen. However, an additional feature might be closer supervision of cadet experiences that might be viewed as harassment. It is probable that the Fourth Classman should be challenged to the extent of his capacity to deal with challenge. However, it should be meaningful challenge, the purpose of which he understands, and which is intended to develop his confidence in himself and his capacity to deal with future challenge. By implication, confidence-building physical tasks would be employed, as well as experiences bordering on adventure training. The social dynamics of such a training situation would need to be examined carefully, for maximum effectiveness to be achieved. The treatment accorded each Fourth Classman

would probably need to be individualized. It is even possible that specific roles might need to be assigned to Second Classmen, such that some Second Classmen would be assigned the specific role of developing meaningful challenge, while other Second Classmen might be assigned the specific role of protecting the Fourth Classman, and insuring that his ability to withstand challenge has not been pressed too far. The whole orientation should be man-building and character-building in nature, such that the Fourth Classman would develop a considerably higher opinion of himself as a consequence of what he has seen himself do. (This approach follows newer schools of thought, e.g., Bem (1967), concerning the development of the self-concept.)

This summer could be excellent training for Second Classmen, as well. By requiring them to focus on the objectives they are seeking to achieve, how their methods will reinforce the objectives, and how individual Fourth Classmen respond individually to man-building tasks, the Second Classmen will have gained important insight into the management and development of training systems, which would serve them well in their later commissioned careers.

(2) Third Class Summer.

During this summer, there would be an orientation to specialization within the Coast Guard. Interview responses were quite favorable toward such short trips as the one to the Pensacola installation. Information of the type gained there could usefully be provided in a variety of additional trips covering other specialties. Trips would not necessarily be involved,

if the information could be obtained in other ways. The guiding objective would be to orient cadets during the third class summer to the specialties available to them in the Guard, as an aid to choosing specialty programs within the Academy.

(3) Second Class Summer.

This summer would be spent by Second Classmen in developing skills for organizing and managing training programs, and then in training Fourth Classmen. If desired, this training period could be amplified by a short cruise. (Short cruises could also amplify the orientation visits spent by Third Classmen.)

(4) First Class Summer.

This summer would be spent by First Classmen in apprenticeship aboard ship. (This concept might also be applied during the third class summer if it seems workable.) One of the problems encountered by the Academy graduate is his relatively lower technical competence immediately after commissioning, vis-a-vis the OCS graduate. While the Academy experience is not primarily designed as technical training, it is possible that the summer program during the first class summer might include technical objectives, so as to give the Academy graduate a somewhat better comparative footing at the outset. As an illustration, if the cadet were specializing in engineering, the first class summer might serve as his Part A. If he were in some other option, he might serve in an apprenticeship status of a comparable nature. The concept would involve assigning considerably smaller numbers of cadets to Coast Guard ships than is the present practice. One or two (or however

minimum number is necessary) cadets could be assigned to any given ship thereby reducing shipboard administrative problems. It is conceivable that buoy tenders might even be used for this purpose. Placement of a very small number of cadets on each ship would also permit officer personnel, or even Chiefs for that matter, to give realistic instruction on the technical aspects of their jobs. It therefore could be a realistic learning experience that would result in the acquisition of both hard and soft skills that would be useful at a later time.

It is recognized that this approach to summer training would present problems with regard to standardizing the training experience. It would also present problems with regard to standardization of evaluations of the First Classman's performance during the summer. However, it is possible that the advantages would considerably outweigh the disadvantages.

It should be recognized that this set of recommendations for summer program changes is by no means the only set that could be generated. The basic principle would be to point summer programs more toward commissioned officer performance requirements, which, in turn, would make possible the establishment of greater relevance for more theoretical preparatory programs undertaken during the academic year itself.

#### ACADEMIC YEAR CHANGES

Suggestions for change during the academic year are derived from interview results, and from general training methodology considerations. It has already been suggested that training in leadership and character building in general, cannot be undertaken profitably by conventional instructional



techniques. Desirable character traits, as an illustration, are usually acquired through a process called identification. This is the process whereby an individual observes someone who constitutes a model for him. The model must be liked, and/or respected. Further, there must be a meaningful relationship between the model and the individual who identifies with him. When these conditions are met, the observer seeks to emulate the positive example provided by the model. This usually occurs because he gets a feeling of pride and self-esteem from emulating the model. In contrast, alternative approaches such as character lectures, lectures by famous men, and so on, rarely have a significant effect.

The recommendations for change during the academic year therefore utilize the following principles:

- . During each academic year, classwork and theoretical material should be made relevant to the summer that follows. The cadet should know that he is actually making preparations for that time. This will produce motivation to profit from the academic year experience.
- . Skill training should in general follow the sequence of general preparation to direct skill training. Direct skill training should occur in the nearest proximity to commissioning possible.
- . The functional context principle should be used. Theory, including leadership theory, should not be taught without a requirement for direct application

in an immediate time frame. (The suggestion therefore is for substantially more practical work in the form of role playing, and so on, during the year, in conjunction with theoretical training.) Conceptual material should be taught in the context of practical situations, both to elaborate the meaning of the conceptual material (which may be misunderstood by a cadet who has no practical experience) and to provide for greater transfer of training to the post-commissioning situation.

Specific recommendations for methods and media follow.

(1) At some point, there probably should be formal leadership training. The present leadership courses appear to be useful and valuable. However, a specific course emphasizing transactional leadership approaches would add significantly. It should not be conducted on Saturday mornings. The lack of cadet commitment to Saturday morning instruction would in all likelihood lead to devaluation of any instruction during that period. Instruction would have greater impact if it occurred during the academic week, perhaps scheduled as a formal three-hour non-credit course. Such a leadership course might be taught during either the second class or first class years. The leadership instruction should contain a strong focus on small groups, and emphasize power roles within formal organizations.

(2) Preparation for the formal course in leadership should be included in a psychology course during the preceding academic year. The existing psychology course in human behavior might suffice. It would be necessary

to analyze its content to determine if that is the case.<sup>1</sup> The psychology that would constitute a foundation for leadership instruction would of necessity be social psychological in nature, perhaps using Secord, Paul F. and Bachman, Carl W., Social Psychology, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964. This course would focus on interpersonal dynamics and on processes by which influence and power relationships develop within small groups and formal organizations.

(3) The formal theoretical instruction in leadership should be amplified through practical application exercises. Following the functional context principle, practical exercises should be used throughout each academic year in which theoretical material relating to leadership is taught.

(a) For Management Training. Interview results suggested that significant weakness existed in the planning skills of junior officers. Planning skills can be acquired only through practical exercises or real experience. Practical exercises designed to improve actual management skills, particularly planning, can include simulations and/or in-basket exercises. Simulations are probably more effective. However, they require a vast amount of effort to develop and implement. In-basket exercises require less effort on both counts, and are usually effective in developing planning and organizing skills. (See Lopez, 1966.)

(b) Interpersonal Competence Skill Training. Interpersonal competence consists of perceptual skills and action skills. That is, for an individual to be able to engage competently in interaction with other

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<sup>1</sup>Analysis of current academic course content by the contractor, was specifically excluded by the RFP.

persons, he must be able to perceive the other person's meanings accurately, and then must be able to respond effectively. Training media for these two varieties are as follows:

- . Perceptual skills. An important area where perception needs to be more accurate concerns the value systems and cognitive orientations of high status subordinates. Suggestions for improvement are:

- .. Tape-recorded or videotape-recorded discussion by Chiefs or Petty Officers of significant issues pertaining to relative responsibilities between them and the junior officer, supervision, organizing and implementing work, and techniques for execution of junior officer responsibilities. These discussions should be recorded in five to eight minute sections (perhaps segments of one longer recording). The typical classroom presentation would consist of playing the segment, then using small group discussion techniques during which cadets in groups of not more than five or six each could explore the meaning of what they have heard, their reactions to it, and techniques for reacting effectively.
- .. Another approach would be to identify a variety of commonplace leadership problem situations. These could be identified through interviews with Chiefs,

junior officers, and immediate seniors of junior officers. One hundred interviews should be adequate for building a data base that is reasonably stable with regard to most probable leadership problem situations. A larger data base would be better, of course. Typical problem situations could be written in script form, and recorded on videotape or tape recorders. A typical approach would utilize a short tape (3-5 minutes) which then would be discussed by cadets within small groups. Cadets would be asked to identify the problem, the motives of the individuals involved, and reasons why the situation probably developed as it did.

- .. Where leadership problem situations have been presented, it would be possible to follow up the small group discussions by role playing in which cadets act the parts of the individuals they saw on videotape, acting out effective solutions to the problem situation. If these role plays also are videotaped, they can be played back to the class. Cadets then can explore their own reasons for acting as they did. The focus in the latter case would be on the value systems and motivations of the cadets, which could then be contrasted with what they have discovered about motivations and value systems of high status subordinates.

- . Action skills. Interpersonal interaction skills are an essential part of interpersonal competence. For skill development to occur, it is necessary that the individual actually practice the skill and receive feedback as to how effectively the skill was in fact performed. One reason why leadership skills are difficult to develop in a real world environment is that feedback sometimes is either delayed, not given, or is too subtle to be identified. Normally, adults do not like to give negative feedback to other adults. (One objective of the practice of action skills would be to allow the cadet to assess his own level of competence, perhaps in a small group setting, and perhaps to receive constructive feedback on improvement, together with an opportunity to practice improvement. See Tab C for a considerably expanded rationale for the practice of action skills, together with a recommended approach called assertive training.) In addition to assertive training, it probably would be to the junior officer's advantage to receive additional skill training in two other areas:

- .. Group problem solving skills. This would consist of training in using groups of subordinates for decision making purposes. It is recognized that superordinates in formal organizations normally

do not use this approach to decision making. However, the development of group problem solving skills represents an overkill kind of training. That is, if the individual receives sufficient training in group problem solving skills that he feels some confidence in being able to apply that leadership technique, he usually will experience a major increase in his confidence to use consultative leadership with individual subordinates. It has been seen from the interview results that consultative leadership is extremely important for the junior officer. Training in group problem solving skills therefore would be a confidence building vehicle enabling the cadet to practice consultative leadership with greater confidence and effectiveness.

- .. Contingency Management. Social Exchange theory views of leadership suggest that the next major advance in leadership training will be in the area of contingency management. This is the skill of managing reinforcement within a situation to obtain the performances desired. This recognizes that effective leadership must rely on a reward or

reinforcement approach. (Contingency management approaches should also be accompanied by theoretical training of a management by objectives type.)

(c) Confidence Training. This was referenced in connection with fourth class summer training. It perhaps warrants re-emphasis, with somewhat more elaboration of what confidence training might be. There is substantial evidence that challenging physical experiences lead to enhancement of an individual's self-concept. This, in turn, will enable him in different situations to interact less defensively, more flexibly, and with greater competence. Confidence training can consist of almost any such physical activity. Examples are aviation training, mountain climbing, parachute training, and so on. By and large, the best effects usually are observed in small group settings, in an outdoor environment, with a challenging physical task that is meaningful in its accomplishment. The beneficial effect probably results from the acquired mastery over the environment that the individual demonstrates to himself, that he did not know that he had before. (This can occur also even under conditions which simply require high physical output over a long period of time, so that the individual demonstrates reserves of endurance to himself which he did not know he had.)

#### SUMMARY

This report presents an analysis of leadership training needs of junior officer Academy graduates, and suggestions for methods and media for improving their on-the-job leadership skills.



Findings suggest that the junior officer's major leadership problems come from his transition from the Academy environment to the duty environment, in which he must acquire technical competence rapidly, and interact with high status, professional subordinates.

Significant positive changes are now occurring in the leadership preparation of its graduates. Particularly noteworthy changes include the movement toward defining leadership objectives (and the ways these objectives are to be achieved), and conceptualizing the total development of the cadet through his four years at the Academy. There is also a significant move toward high-impact leadership training methods. All of these changes should receive continued encouragement.

Additional recommendations in this report include suggestions for a revision of the concept of summer training, so that summer experiences will be more pointedly directed toward both active duty performance requirements and the development of technical competence prior to commissioning. Suggestions are also made for specific classroom instruction in leadership, to occur during the academic week rather than on Saturdays, and for a much heavier emphasis on practical exercises to amplify the theoretical training in leadership. The focus of the recommendations is the assertion that leadership is a skill, and that skills are learned through practice and feedback. Except at the simplest level, skills are normally not learned without practice, e.g., in a classroom lecture. Specific techniques for skill development were suggested, including assertive training, role playing, and small group exercises.

Finally, suggestions were made also for the use of confidence training exercises that would improve the cadet's estimate of his own competence, and training in group-problem-solving skills that would improve his ability to exercise consultative leadership after commissioning.

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TAB A

ROLE BEHAVIOR AREAS--DEFINITIONS AND ENSIGN RESPONSIBILITIES

1. Planning.

This area consists of analyzing requirements, anticipating problems, and establishing priorities so that time and other resources can be allocated properly to accomplish objectives. Planning requires looking at the big picture, anticipating the future, and developing ways to deal with it.

Interview results suggest that officers learn planning skills almost entirely on the job, at present. It would be desirable for junior officers to have higher levels of skill in this area. The specific tasks which must be anticipated differ between deck officers and engineering officers, but the need for planning exists in both cases.

2. Organizing.

This area consists of developing pathways for accomplishing goals. Organization results in an orderly approach to doing things, and a systematic way of accounting for requirements. It also reflects awareness of need for efficiency in the application of effort.

Interview results suggest that this responsibility is shared with the high ranking immediate enlisted subordinate, the Chief. Chiefs expect to do most of the organizing, or at least to participate in decisions relating to organizing. The requirement for the junior officer is to identify and present requirements, which the Chief then will deal with.

### 3. Coordinating.

This area consists of lateral (and sometimes upward) communication for the purpose of obtaining necessary additional resources or informing others who may be affected by planned actions.

A great deal of on-the-job learning occurs here, also. Chiefs assume responsibilities for coordination where it is possible to accomplish this purpose with other Chiefs. However, when this is not sufficient, the junior officer must accomplish the function.

### 4. Initiating.

As the title suggests, this area reflects the requirement that the leader act on his own initiative to take action or require that action be taken, as the situation requires.

Interview results suggest that a substantial amount of on-the-job learning occurs in this area. There is less responsibility for initiating, especially among engineering officers, during the first year. However, after the first year, there is consensus that this area is key for the officer. (Willingness to initiate actions probably is related to self confidence, which also develops during the first year.)

### 5. Directing.

This area includes both the giving of orders and problem-solving during the progress of work.

Interview results were not clear-cut. One judgment was that this is a very weak area for young officers in general, and even for some more senior officers. However, this judgment appears to have resulted from the term "problem-solving," and resulting confusion with the

initiating category. The general comment was that more officers should be effective problem solvers for themselves. (This suggests the initiation of solutions.) Insofar as detailed direction for the performance of work is concerned, there was agreement that this is not the junior officer's responsibility, but rather the Chief's. Some discussion suggests that the junior officer may err in the direction of thinking he has more responsibility for detailed direction of work than actually is the case.

6. Controlling.

This area concerns the leader's actions in setting and enforcing standards, and in providing a quality control function with respect to the work of his subordinates.

Interview results suggest that the Chief may have a lot or most of the responsibility in this area. The officer's role vis-a-vis the Chief's is delicate. Conclusions from interviews are that the junior officer should back up the Chief's decisions and should not "hand out discipline." The junior officer should develop skills of checking work in such a way as not to cast doubt on the Chief's competence. There was strong consensus that men work for Chiefs and petty officers, not for officers.

7. Interpersonal Competence.

This category consists of communicating with and relating to others, developing mutual trust, and working out acceptable agreements on mutual responsibilities.

This area was identified as of prime importance to the junior officer, and an area in which he typically may be weak.

8. Developing Respect Through Problem Solving.

This category reflects the need for technical competence for problem solving, decision making, and facilitating goal attainment.

Interview results suggest that technical competence comes from experience on the job. Realistically, it was not expected that the junior officer would be technically competent. Because of this, it was suggested that Ensigns should be taught to rely more on Chiefs for technical answers, while they are learning during their first year. Technical competence is a prerequisite for assumption of officer responsibilities, however, at whatever time that occurs.

9. Developing Respect Through Personal Example.

This category consists generally of leader behaviors which reflect the officer's acceptance as standards for his own behavior of those standards by which he judges the behavior of others.

There was agreement on the importance of this category, though no particular mention of this category as an area of weakness for the junior officer.

10. Retaining Self-Control Under Pressure.

This area is almost an attribute of the individual. Specific behavior statements reflect the leader's need to react without being defensive and with confidence in a situation which might challenge him in one way or another.



There was agreement on the importance of this area, though no particular comment on it as an area of weakness.

11. Evaluating Performance of Subordinates Fairly.

This area consists largely of checking reasons for performance failure and taking them into account.

This area was regarded as important, though not particularly an area of weakness for the junior officer. It was generally agreed, also, that this mostly is a responsibility of the Chief, with a primary requirement at the junior officer level of supporting the decisions of the Chief.

12. Differentiating Own Responsibilities From Subordinates'

Responsibilities.

A considerable amount of research has shown that the effective leader must differentiate his role from that of his subordinates. The leader's role must consist more of planning and supervising than of actually doing work that can and should be done by subordinates.

Interview results suggest that this is in fact an important area. Chiefs agreed with the requirement for separation of responsibilities. Further, there was some thought that the officer may compromise the effectiveness of performance of subordinates by being present "too much." (This reflects previous discussion of the importance of supervisory skills which do not infer doubt of the Chief's motivation and ability.) Close supervision is an error, in part because it implies doubt of the Chief. It may also result in the junior officer's doing of some of the Chief's job, which would be a substantial error.

13. Building Team Feeling (Esprit) Through Involving Subordinates.

This area consists of leader behaviors which develop enthusiasm for mission accomplishment and a commitment to attainment of goals of the unit/organization. Generally, skill in this area results in superior decisions, and superior performance in the implementation of decisions.

Substantial discussion of this area occurred during interviews. This was interpreted to reflect a consultative leadership style, which was strongly approved by both officers and Chiefs. The use of this style was regarded as extremely important. However, it was recognized that the new officer might not be able to implement it.

14. Building Team Feeling (Esprit) Through Loyalty to Subordinates.

This area consists of leader's behaviors reflecting the leader's commitment to "standing up for" subordinates.

Interview results suggest that this is an important area, though it was not identified as one of particular weakness.

15. Expecting Superior Performance From Subordinates.

This area was written to reflect leader attitudes of high respect for subordinates as a group.

Reactions to the area during interviews were that it is not appropriate to expect too much. The officer should expect what is reasonable. It was judged that this would be appropriate if the title were reworded: "Have high opinion of own group." Techniques for leading the group to develop pride in themselves were discussed here.

16. Developing Goal Orientation Among Subordinates.

This area consists of identifying and establishing meaningful goals for the group and subordinates to work toward.

It was felt that this responsibility should be shared with the Chief. It was not identified as an area of particular weakness among junior officers, though the area was recognized as important.

17. Developing Teamwork Among Subordinates.

This area reflects the leader's responsibility for effective work relationships among subordinates.

While the area itself was regarded as important, interview results did not identify it as a significant weakness for junior officers.

18. Developing Subordinates' Pride In Their Work.

A basic tool of leadership is providing esteem satisfactions to subordinates, that is, reinforcing their pride in themselves as a function of the work they do. When subordinates gain a feeling of pride as a consequence of doing superior work, then high quality work becomes satisfying in itself. Techniques of developing pride and tying it to the performance of work are probably among the most important of leadership skills.

There was recognition during interviews of the importance of this area. In particular, techniques were discussed whereby officers can develop pride among subordinates and a feeling of self satisfaction as a result of doing effective work.

19. Developing Subordinates' Responsibility Through Delegation.

This area reflects the fact that in most organizations subordinates will not develop the capacity to handle responsibility unless important tasks are delegated to them.

Interview results suggest that Chiefs expect and are competent (generally) to handle substantial responsibility. Thus, the ability of the junior officer to identify what should be delegated to the Chief is of great importance. If he undertakes to do a task which the Chief perceives his own responsibility, there is a substantial chance of alienation.

20. Training And Developing Subordinates For Long-Range Future Growth.

This is an area of personnel management in which the more senior individual is responsible for the training and development of his subordinates both for upward mobility and increased responsibility.

Interview results suggest that the junior officer has managerial responsibility in this area, particularly getting enlisted personnel into schools which they may need. It is the Chief's responsibility to identify the training needs.

21. Training And Developing Subordinates Through Performance Feedback.

This area consists of giving subordinates feedback on the quality of their work and suggestions how to improve.

There was relatively little discussion of this area, perhaps because it was recognized as an extremely difficult area for the newly commissioned officer. It was felt that it was more the Chief's responsibility to take care of lower ranking enlisted men, and that the newly commissioned junior officer did not have the experience and technical ability to provide performance feedback to the Chief. This, consequently, should be regarded as an important area, but one which is more pertinent to the more senior officer than to the newly commissioned Ensign.

22. Helping Subordinates On Personal Problems.

This consists of counseling on personal problems or developing resources which cannot be obtained by the subordinate himself.

There was relatively little discussion of this area, for the same reason as identified for the immediately preceding one.

23. Assessing Subordinates' Capabilities To Contribute To Mission Performance.

This area is strongly related to performance feedback area, and reflects the leader's requirement to assess strengths and weaknesses of his subordinates.

Interview results suggest that this is a shared responsibility with the Chief, and the Chief may be involved more in executing this responsibility than the junior officer.

24. Sensing Hygiene Factors Of Importance To Subordinates.

This area consists of leader behaviors reflecting concern about living and working conditions of subordinates. They reflect the Herzberg

(1965) hygiene factors, and the conventional military category of "welfare of subordinates."

There was very limited discussion of this category during interviews. However, it should not be discounted, as other leadership research in the Coast Guard demonstrates that it is of importance.

TAB B

Training Programs and Education Courses

EDUCATION COURSES		TRAINING PROGRAMS			
Human Behavior	Introduction to Management	Organizational Behavior	Applied Psychology Managerial Environment	FIRST CLASS YEAR	
<p>etiquette classes pistol program cruise orientation drug program operation pride summer program battalion advisors interbattalion and intercollegiate sports chaplains cadet counselor brigade system adaptability system cadet activities conduct system dance classes formal dances</p>	<p>etiquette classes leadership course drug program operation pride summer program battalion advisors interbattalion and intercollegiate sports chaplains cadet counselor brigade system adaptability system cadet activities conduct system formal dances</p>	<p>drug programs etiquette classes medical self-help defensive driving operation pride summer program battalion advisors interbattalion and intercollegiate sports chaplains cadet counselor brigade system leadership develop- ment seminar adaptability system cadet activities conduct system formal dances</p>	<p>etiquette classes career panels minorities seminar drug program personal and ship- board matters operation pride summer program battalion advisors IB &amp; IB sports chaplains cadet counselor brigade system adaptability system cadet activities conduct system formal dances</p>		

## TAB C

### A TRAINING MODEL FOR THE INTERPERSONAL ASPECT OF COMPETENCE<sup>1</sup>

#### BACKGROUND

#### COMPETENCE

The concept of "competence" proposed by White (1959) was defined by him (White, 1960) as an organism's "fitness or ability to carry on those transactions with the environment which result in its maintaining itself, growing, and flourishing." The development by the individual of successful techniques for dealing with its environment was considered by White (1963) to be the product of learning. In much of his writing, White (e.g., 1965) underscored the significance of successful transactions with the environment on the motivation of the individual.

"When action is focalized, intended, and effortful, and when it produces effects on a bit of environment toward which it is aimed, the consequent experience includes a feeling of efficacy, a feeling of power to be an effective agent." (White, 1965, p. 206)

The probability of experiencing successful transactions with the environment is affected by interaction between the resources of the individual and the environment. Examples of such critical personal resources are intelligence, self-confidence, and the desire to excel. In addition to adequate personal resources, the situation itself will influence the likelihood of competent performance occurring.

"Opportunity to show competence, the nature of the task and relationships, and the response of others appear in

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<sup>1</sup>This material was provided by Dr. J. A. Olmstead and Dr. Larry L. Lackey, HumRRO Division No. 4.



research studies as important determinants of conditions favorable to the production of desirable outcomes and a feeling of efficacy." (Elder, 1969, p. 256)

The individual's history of successful and unsuccessful transactions with the environment results in a "sense of competence" (White, 1960). The motivational aspect of a sense of competence impacts directly upon the subsequent dealings of the individual with the environment. An individual with a history of successful transactions with the environment is more likely to attempt future transactions than is the individual with a background marked by more frequent unsuccessful transactions. The more confidence the individual has in his own ability to deal successfully with the environment, the more likely he will attempt such transactions.

Argyris (1965, p. 60) suggested that the concept of competence involves several elements, (a) technical (related to things), (b) intellectual (related to ideas), and (c) interpersonal (related to people). Similar views of interpersonal competence as an operational concept are presented by several other researchers (Foote and Cottrell, 1955; White, 1960; Moment and Zaleznik, 1963).

The concept of interpersonal competence represents the focus of this proposal. Following a review of interpersonal competence, a specific technique for developing skills in interpersonal competence will be presented.

#### INTERPERSONAL COMPETENCE

Argyris (1968) viewed interpersonal competence as the ability to cope effectively with interpersonal relations. This ability to cope with the

interpersonal environment is, as previously mentioned, affected by interaction between individual resources and the environment. Two critical individual resources are (a) perceptual competence and (b) action competence, the successful implementation of perceptions.

Perceptual competence involves accurate appraisal of the interpersonal situation, and involves attending to both the verbal and nonverbal cues emitted by the person in the situation. These cues provide information about many aspects of the other person (e.g., attitudes, needs, cognitions). Accurate appraisal of the situation requires the individual to accurately weigh an adequate number of cues as to their relative importance. To effectively accomplish such tasks it is necessary for the most relevant cues to be elicited from the other person. Therefore, the skills necessary for perceptual competence of the perceiver are (a) ensuring that the most relevant cues have been emitted by the other and (b) accurate interpretation of the emitted cues.

Action competence, based on perceptual competence or an accurate evaluation of the situation, involves the production of outcomes favorable to the actor. The extent to which such favorable outcomes are attained involves two skills, (a) identification of the most effective behavior and (b) implementation of the identified behavior.

Skills such as those which have been associated with perceptual and action competence reflect a cognitive approach to development of interpersonal competence. Adoption of the cognitive approach expresses the belief that the skills necessary for interpersonal competence can be

learned. If appropriate skills can be learned, older and less effective ones can be changed. "Maladaptive as well as appropriate behaviors, learned through social learning principles, may be seen as the result of inappropriate generalization of responses to stimulus situations, perhaps caused by inattention to appropriate aspects of the situation" (Hansen, et al., 1969, p. 741). The only limiting factor upon the acquisition of appropriate skills would be a personal attribute of the perceiver which interferes with either perceptual or action competence.

The skills related to perceptual and action competence have been specified by several researchers. One set of skills which seems most relevant to this proposal is presented below (Bennis, Schein, Berlew, and Steele, 1964, pp. 688-690):

1. Skill in sending and receiving information and feelings reliably.
2. Skill in evoking the expression of accurate cues by others.
3. Skill in processing sent information and feelings reliably.
4. Skill in implementing communicative acts.
5. Skill in utilizing experience in each of the above areas for further growth.

#### Effects of Interpersonal Incompetence

Implications of unsuccessful mastery of these skills by the individual as part of his development are widespread and critical. Since much of the basis for an individual's success in life is heavily influenced by

his relationships with other people, mental health may be one resultant of a low level of interpersonal competence (White, 1963).

Another adverse effect of inadequate development of the appropriate skills may be the more frequent rejection of the individual by his peers. This, in turn, leads to fewer opportunities for development of the appropriate skills.

As one approach to preventive mental health, training in developing adequate interpersonal skills would seem most productive at the adolescent or post-adolescent period of development. One basis for the greater perceived effectiveness of such skills training at this age was commented on by Bowerman and Kinch (1959). These writers suggested the transition from elementary to secondary school marks a shift in the individual's preferred source of reinforcement. Rather than parents, dependence on peers for affective security and support, and aid in problem solving characterizes this developmental period. If the individual fails at this time to develop the necessary skills for interpersonal competence, the future opportunities for modification of these faulty skills may be diminished.

On the other hand, effective use of peers as sources of reinforcement for learning appropriate interpersonal skills, and correcting inappropriate ones, has tremendous potential for future adjustment of the individual. Providing such reinforcement in a group setting was also found to be an effective technique by Hansen, et al. (1969). These researchers stated that "...group counseling is an excellent setting for children to learn or relearn appropriate behavior" (p. 741).

The feasibility and effectiveness of using a model to improve an individual's ineffective interpersonal skills is supported by a recent study (Mayer, et al., 1969). The approach taken by these researchers, combining social learning theory and dissonance theory, suggests that attitudinal and/or behavioral changes are more likely when behavior contrary to the child's opinion or previous behavior is modeled.

There are several techniques which are quite effective in training in interpersonal skills. One which was recently suggested, and is the focus of this proposal, is assertive training, a behavioral role-playing technique.

#### ASSERTIVE TRAINING

Behavioral role-playing techniques were described by Kelly (1955), Wolpe (1958), and Lazarus (1965). While the theoretical language used to describe the technique varied from researcher to researcher, several fundamental treatment procedures and principles were common to all descriptions: individuals with various ineffective interpersonal skills, such as inappropriate assertiveness, receive training in developing the deficient skills. The procedures used in such training include modeling, response rehearsal, and therapist coaching (McFall and Marston, 1970).

Assertive training has been used in developing a wide range of interpersonal skills (Nydegger, 1972; Serber, 1972; Wolpe, 1970). The skill to exhibit an optimum level of assertive behavior for a specific situation is directly related to the individual's "sense of competence." It is only through the performance of an appropriate level of assertive behavior that an individual is able to experience successful outcomes

in dealing with the social environment without experiencing unpleasant side effects as a concomitant of such outcomes.

The relationships among "winning" in a transaction with the social environment, the experiencing of unpleasant side effects, and the appropriate level of assertive behavior are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ASSERTIVE BEHAVIOR, WINNING IN  
SOCIAL INTERACTIONS, AND UNPLEASANT SIDE EFFECTS

Assertive Behavior	Win	Unpleasant Side Effects
Underassertive (passive, submissive, non-reactive)	No	Yes (e.g., feelings of low self-esteem, incompetence)
Appropriately Assertive	Yes	No
Overassertive (over-reactive, aggressive)	Yes	Yes (e.g., feelings of rejection, dislike)

Only by displaying appropriately assertive behaviors does the individual receive positive reinforcement for experiencing successful outcomes in interacting with the social environment.

Assertive Training Model

Based on the fundamental principles and techniques of assertive training, a model for providing such training in a group context was developed. This model, relying heavily upon the behavioral rehearsal approach to behavioral therapy, is shown in Table 2. Descriptions of each step shown in the model are presented immediately following Table 2.

Table 2

GROUP ASSERTIVE TRAINING MODEL

Steps	Activity
1	Investigate
2	Role-play
3	Feedback
4	Guidance
5	Model
6	Feedback
7	Guidance
8	Role-play
9	Feedback

Following are complete descriptions of each step in the model.

Step 1--Investigate. In the context of a small group of peers, each participant is questioned to identify individuals who have experienced unrewarding social outcomes due to performance of inappropriate assertive behaviors.

Step 2--Role-Play. Each individual who has identified such an experience in Step 1, role-plays the specific situation. The group instructor participates in the role-play.

Step 3--Feedback. Feedback on the performance of the individual having the behavior problem is given by the group. The only type of feedback permitted is positive reinforcement, which is provided to some aspect(s) of the performance.

Step 4--Guidance. Suggestions are elicited from the peer group as to how the observed performance might be improved.

Step 5--Model. One of the other participants in the group role-plays the original situation, incorporating the guidance provided by the group members. The group member is modeling more effective performance for the original actor.

Step 6--Feedback. As before, some aspect(s) of the actor's performance are positively reinforced by the group and the instructor.

Step 7--Guidance. Group members contribute suggestions as to how the performance could be made more effective for the situation.

Step 8--Role-Play. The original actor again role-plays the same situation. His performance should now be modified by the guidance which has been provided by the other group members.

Step 9--Feedback. There are two phases in this step. In the first phase, the instructor positively reinforces the modifications to the original performance which have resulted from the group guidance. The second phase occurs at the time of the next group meeting and is focused on encouraging and reinforcing the transfer of training to other social situations. At that time the instructor determines whether the individual with the previous skill deficiency has implemented any of the guidance which had been provided by the group. Any implementation attempts by the individual are positively reinforced by the group.

This model is currently being used in providing interpersonal relations training to the staff of the Eufaula Adjustment Center, Eufaula, Alabama, with great success.

The model is designed to capitalize on the reinforcing properties of peers for the adolescent and post-adolescent. To the extent that such an



individual receives positive reinforcement for developing skill in demonstrating appropriately assertive behavior, the greater the likelihood of such skill generalizing to future social interactions.

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